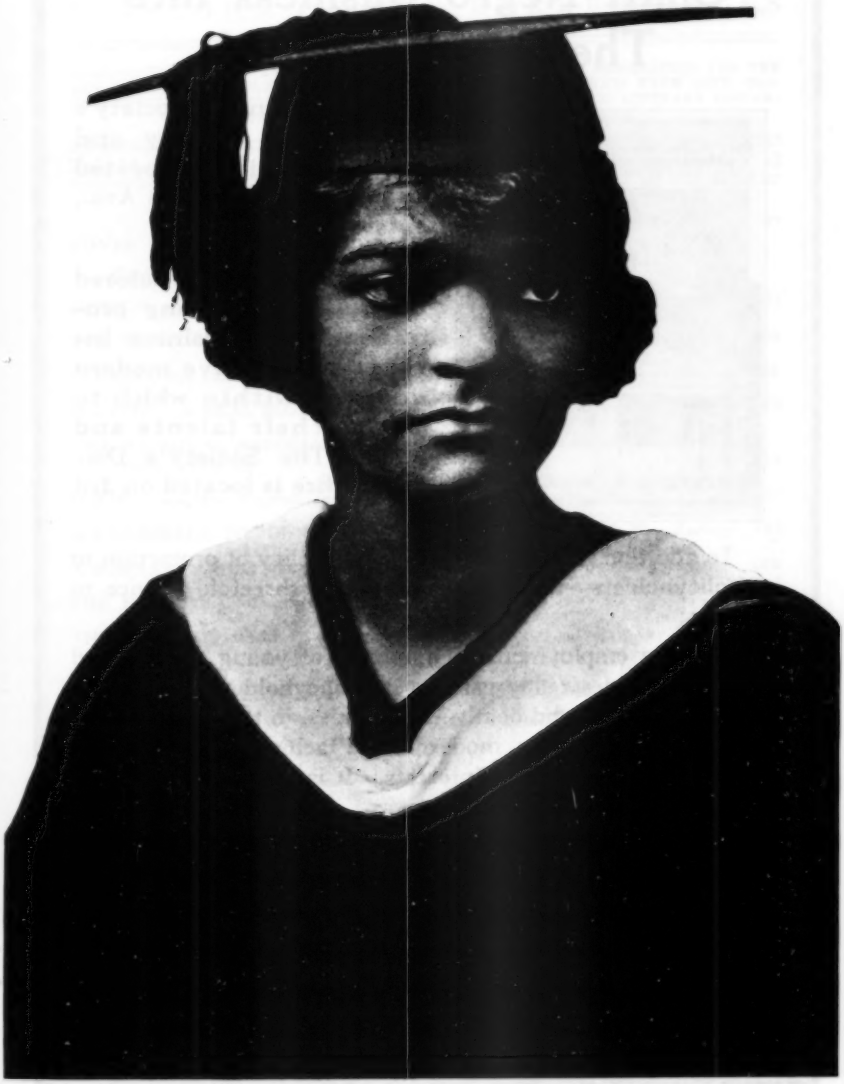
The CRISIS



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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED MONTHLY AND COPYRIGHTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY. CONDUCTED BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS; JESSIE REDMON FAUSET, LITERARY EDITOR; AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, BUSINESS MANAGER.

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 24. No. 4 AUGUST, 1922 Whole No. 142

Opinion of W. E. B. Du Bois

ILLITERACY

CENSUS figures say that the illiteracy of the Negro in the South has been lowered from 33 3/10 per cent in 1910 to 26 3/10 per cent in 1920. Without the experience of the war we would greatly rejoice in this news, but today we know that census figures on illiteracy for both black people and white are not worth the paper upon which they are written. The United States is one of the most ignorant of modern civilized countries.

THE HIGHER TRAINING OF NEGROES

IT is estimated that the following Americans of Negro descent have been graduated from college:

1820-1829	3
1830-1849	7
1850-1859	12
1860-1869	44
1870-1879	313
1880-1889	738
1890-1899	1,126
1900-1909	1,613
1910-1919	2,861

During the years in which THE CRISIS has kept special record there have been the following graduates:

1914	250
1915	281
1916	338
1917	455
1918	384
1919	373
1920	364
1921	461

A nearly complete list of graduates for 1922 shows in northern white institutions 77 colored Bachelors of Arts and Sciences and 13 Masters of Arts; in Negro institutions, 446 Bachelors of Arts and Sciences and 7 Masters of Arts; making a total of 523 Bachelors and 20 Masters. In addition to this there have been graduated 19 lawyers in the North and 56 in the South, a total of 75; 54 doctors of medicine in the South and 7 in the North, total of 61; 61 pharmacists in the South and 12 in the North, a total of 73; 70 dentists in the South and 5 in the North, making a total of 75; 42 Bachelors of Divinity and Theology in the South and 6 in the North, a total of 48, making in all 332 professional graduates.

THE HIGHER TRAINING OF AMERICANS

IN 1890 there were 156,449 students in institutions of higher learning in America. In 1918 there were 375,359. In such institutions there were, in 1890, 7,918 teachers, in 1918, 36,522 teachers. In 1890, 7,319 degrees of Bachelors of Arts were granted and in 1918, 28,052. In 1890 the property of institutions of higher learning amounted to $75,818,723. In 1918 this had increased to the enormous sum of $489,200,884. Productive funds had increased from $77,000,000 to $480,000,000. In 1890, of the population from 19 to 23 years of age, 3.4% were in college while in 1918 this had increased to over 4.5%.

All this shows the gratifying increase of higher education in the United States. One would expect under these circumstances a hymn of praise in the United States at seeing our nation very slowly, but progressively, becoming an educated nation. On the contrary this is not true; indeed the increase of our college population has given rise in some quarters

to a grave fear—a fear not always fully expressed, but ever and again finding some expression. A decade or so ago this dissatisfaction found voice in wide-spread effort to divert students from college training into technical lines. But the increase of technical students did not decrease the number of college students; quite to the contrary. Today we are hearing complaints about "crowding" in institutions and the desirability of "sifting" students.

The real fear back of all this, is that we are over-educating "the masses". These masses include many groups—laborers, artisans, Latins, Irish—but especially two easily distinguished groups, Jews and Negroes.

THE AMERICAN JEW

A HARVARD instructor told his colored assistant not long ago that he had watched the commencement procession. "Do you know I carefully counted the members of the Phi Beta Kappa and eight out of ten of them were Jews!" He paused for comment, but none came. At Yale University the University Secretary looked a colored graduate squarely in the eye and said, only a few years ago, "We do not want Jews or Negroes or Chinamen at Yale, we want *Americans*." There is a story, which may or may not be apocryphal, that when a new president was elected at Columbia the old president sent him a telegram which said, "He, watching over Israel, slumbers not nor sleeps"; and the telegram meant that it was the business of the new president to get rid of Jews in the University as far as possible, both from the faculty and from the student body. The same thing has been true in many other institutions and recently it has come up for open discussion at Harvard.

This attitude strikes the Negro as curiously paradoxical. The Negro has been objected to apparently for lack of brains and for low culture; but the Jew is now being objected to for excess of brains and over-keen mentality. All the world fears this group of thinkers. Yet the modern historical reasons for this are clear. The ancient Jew was a farmer, shepherd and emotional dreamer. Oppression—ugly, cruel, malignant oppression for a millenium—made them breed for brains. They encouraged and made to survive the thoughtful, keen, reasoning human being. Their physical and emotional life was narrowed and they became the keenest thinking group of the modern world. As that world became economic, the Jews became economic leaders. As it turns otherwhere, they turn too and still are in the lead.

Out of this has grown European Anti-Semitism—a combination of religious, racial and economic hatreds. America has hitherto escaped this, because the American Jews, largely of German descent and long resident here found little opposition and much to make them proud of being Americans. What prejudice they found they tactfully attacked by ignoring it.

Then came the Jew from Eastern Europe, born in oppression and born fighting. He saw anti-Jewish discrimination here which American Jews were ignoring as in the recent Annapolis case. The new Jew refused to forget his blood, his religion, his racial consciousness. He claimed the right to be proud of his Jewish heritage, to promote a new and mightier Zion and yet to be an American.

Right here he clashed with the Nordic ideal: that every real American must be of English descent or pretend that he is. That this is an Anglo-Saxon empire and all others must go.

THE NEGRO

THE Negro has not been breeding for an object. Slavery meant that he was unbred: that he was impoverished economically, that his family life, the

basis of all breeding, was ruthlessly broken up. Nevertheless he is beginning to gather himself together. He finds himself surrounded in the modern world by men who have been bred for brains, for efficiency, for beauty. He is beginning carefully to train and breed for the same purposes in varying proportions. He is beginning to appear in the colleges of the North in appreciable numbers. In 1890 there were two Negro students in Harvard. In 1922 there were 40. Five or more of the large institutions have Negro instructors or assistants and in one case an assistant professor. The Phi Beta Kappa has been admitting them here and there in a thin but unbroken stream. Whatever the world and America may say, even the blindest realize that in time efficiency and brain and beauty are going to be well-bred in the American Negro race. The advance is irresistible, clear, unquestionable. In a part of the country the opposition to this, born in slavery, is strong and implacable. What kind of a land would this be, says the South, with Negroes as Men—self-guiding, efficient, keen and self-respecting men? Therefore the South persists in lynching and mob violence, in "Jim Crow" cars and studied race hatred. And the South is finding allies. Harvard mothered Emerson, Lowell and Shaw, but it also bore sons who supported Slavery and helped mob Garrison. Today Harvard honors Senator Underwood and seeks to bar Jews and Negroes. Senator Underwood sits in our highest legislature as a result of lawless fraud and defiance of the Constitution of the United States. He may not lead the mobs of Alabama but he would not punish any white man who did lead a mob. He has been given the degree of Doctor of Laws at Harvard by President Lawrence Lowell whose name is unpleasantly reminiscent of that "cotton dust" that once stopped the ears of New England, and who recently when asked by the N. A. A. C. P. to join leading Americans in denouncing lynching did not even acknowledge the letter.

THE END OF A DYNASTY

HERE then we have an extraordinary alliance. It is partly subconscious, partly the full consciousness of a few and the blind acquiescence of the many: but mark you: Irish are ruling Massachusetts; Italians are her growing labor reservoir; both are Catholics. The Ku Klux Klan attacks Catholics bitterly; New England fears Catholics and seeks to hang two alleged Italian murderers on evidence that does not convince the laymen. And now comes Harvard—*Fair* Harvard—fearing Jews and Negroes.

I remember a scene. It was in 1920. A Harvard class was reuniting in Boston. A man arose to speak. He was easily the most distinguished man in the class; he was one of the most distinguished in America; but while he was white and "American" he was not a Mayflower descendent. In fact he was a man of no family, of no ancestors, a new-made and a self-made man, child perhaps of laborers and washerwomen. And while he was trying to talk to his class out of his splendid war experience he was continually interrupted by a drunken sot who represented the blood of one of the finest and most distinguished families of New England; the latest generation of a line of rulers and aristocrats. And the astonishing thing about it was that the class regarded the whole thing as a joke, and if either of the two were to be stopped they would rather have stopped the distinguished authority upon international law than to have interrupted the drunken aristocrat!

I saw a sudden vision: the end of a dynasty, grasping and gripping for power and privilege; and the relentless fateful coming of new men, new blood, new races.

AMERICANIZATION

WE are far from forgetting the gift of New England to America and in particular the gift of New England to the American Negro, but we cannot fail to forsee that today the same dry rot of aristocracy is entering New England and Harvard that has ruined in other days the aristocracies of the world. What we think we mean by Americanization is the making of this country one great homogeneous whole working for the same ideals, defending its integrity, preserving its hard found liberty. As a matter of fact what the powerful and the privileged mean by Americanization is the determination to make the English New England stock dominant in the United States, and to make it dominate not only in its fine language and democratic ideals and freedom of thought, but in any modern narrowing and contradiction and denial of these older ideals which newer and lesser men may bring. It is but a renewal of the Anglo-Saxon cult; the worship of the Nordic totem, the disfranchisement of Negro, Jew, Irishman, Italian, Hungarian, Asiatic and South Sea islander—the world rule of Nordic white through brute force.

Others may come in but only as dumb laborers or silent witnesses or as those willing to surrender their will and deeds to the glory of the "Anglo-Saxon"! And yet, the majority of people in the United States are not of English descent. They admire much that England has done, they criticise and hate other things. They propose that America shall be a land for American development and that into that development shall grow many different roots. They do not propose that New England thought, past or present, shall dominate American future. They do not propose that America shall be a colony of England. They see England today, despite her splendid past, as one of the great foes of human liberty, and they do not propose that this power shall be felt this side the water.

It is this feeling that is making in the vast empire of the Middle West, centers of thought and effort diametrically opposed politically, economically, socially, to New England and the Atlantic coast. It is the fight against this new strong development of Americanism of the Middle West that is slowly, but surely uniting New England with the South; because, after all, the white South is "pure" Anglo-Saxon, despite the fact that it is so widely degraded, reactionary, and without art, literature or humanitarian impulse. Neither side in this vast developing controversy loves Jew or Negro or Irishman as such. But the West has a vision of Democracy that reaches beyond Englishmen or New Englander. Moreover the West is not blind. The same forces south and east that are fighting democracy in the United States are fighting black men and fighting Jews. The great alliance then between the darker people the world over, between disadvantaged groups like the Irish and the Jew and between the working classes everywhere is the one alliance that is going to keep down privilege as represented by New England and old England.

THE FUTURE

IN this fight we can, thank God, count on many people who by birth and position belong to the privileged group but who nevertheless will not give up the principle of freedom and equal treatment which the Pilgrim fathers tried to establish in America. They did not wholly succeed but they did make it impossible to herd New Englanders. You can herd Southerners like sheep, so that at the crack of a demogog's whip no man dare rebel. You can

herd the West although not so completely. But in New England there are always Roger Williams, and Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Moorfield Storey; and New England has learned, albeit hardly, to let these prophets and rebels talk. And this is the glory and hope of New England and of America.

Present facts then need not for a moment discourage black folk in the United States. The developments at Harvard we have long seen coming. The attempt of some parts of the Nordic race to own and dominate the earth is a well-known program, but it is a program that is fighting against the stars in their courses. Democracy is going to develop. Democracy is going to include the workingmen, the despised hoards of eastern and southeastern Europe, the yellow men of Asia and the black men of Africa, America and the South Seas. There is no amount of combination, no effort at discrimination or exclusion that is going, in the long run, to stop this inevitable development. We may shiver under the Harvard development, we may see with distrust a secret propaganda against Jews suddenly brought to light and transforming itself because of the wealth and power of that group. And on the other hand we may learn that the ears of President Lowell are still deaf to the protest of Negro students expelled from the Freshman dormitory, because Negroes have no prospective endowment funds for Harvard. But all this is passing, all this is but the instance of a greater and grimmer battle and in that battle the triumph of Democracy for the darker races, for the segregated groups, and for the disadvantaged classes is written in the everlasting stars.

THE KU KLUX

WE pause to remind Dr. Arthur Talmadge Abernethy, who promised on March 17 to have Matthew Bullock returned to North Carolina within 90 days, that the time is flying and Mr. Bullock has not yet appeared.

LIGHT

SOUTHERN white professors in the universities of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, sent out last January a statement that deserves wide circulation and repetition:

"Sane, thoughtful men, who love truth and justice, can meet together and discuss problems involving points of even strong disagreement and arrive at a common understanding, if only they remember to look for the next best thing to do rather than attempt to determine for all time any set of fixed policies or lay down an inclusive program for the future. The most fruitful forms of co-operation have been found in connection with such vital community problems as better schools, good roads, more healthful living, and more satisfactory business relations. In all these community efforts the good of both races is inseparably involved.

"No fact is more clearly established by history than that Hatred and Force only complicate race relations. The alternative to this is counsel and co-operation among men of character and good-will, and, above all, of intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of the racial problem. The number of those who possess specific knowledge upon which to base intelligent thinking, and, ultimately, wise action is still too small. There is great need, therefore, that facts now available concerning the advancement of the Negro race in education, in professional accomplishment, in economic independence and in character, be studied by thoughtful students in our colleges. Such facts as are definitely established could well be made, as has already been done in some institutions, the basis of instruction in race conditions and relations as a part of a regular course in social science. This body of information would undoubtedly allay race antagonism and would serve as a foundation for tolerant attitude and intelligent action in every direction of interracial co-operation."

CHILDREN'S NUMBER

THE October CRISIS, *published September 20, will be our annual Children's number. Photographs are desired and must reach us not later than August 25. No photographs can be returned. Let us have pictures of natural healthy children, not posing and dressed up, but happy and lovable.*

THE FAITH OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO*

MORDECAI WYATT JOHNSON

SINCE their emancipation from slavery the masses of American Negroes have lived by the strength of a simple but deeply moving faith. They have believed in the love and providence of a just and holy God; they have believed in the principles of democracy and in the righteous purpose of the Federal Government; and they have believed in the disposition of the American people as a whole and in the long run to be fair in all their dealings.

In spite of disfranchisement and peonage, mob violence and public contempt, they have kept this faith and have allowed themselves to hope with the optimism of Booker T. Washington that in proportion as they grew in intelligence, wealth, and self-respect they would win the confidence and esteem of their fellow white Americans, and would gradually acquire the responsibilities and privileges of full American citizenship.

In recent years, and especially since the Great War, this simple faith has suffered a widespread disintegration.

When the United States government set forth its war aims, called upon Negro soldiers to stand by the colors and Negro civilians, men, women and children, to devote their labor and their earnings to the cause, and when the war shortage of labor permitted a quarter million Negroes to leave the former slave states for the better conditions of the North, the entire Negro people experienced a profound sense of spiritual release. For the first time since emancipation they found themselves comparatively free to sell their labor on the open market for a living wage, found themselves launched on a great world enterprise with a chance to vote in a real and decisive way, and, best of all, in the heat of the struggle, they found themselves bound with other Americans in the spiritual fellowship of a common cause.

When they stood on the height of this exalted experience and looked down on their pre-war poverty, impotence and spiritual isolation, they realized as never before the depth of the harm they had suffered, and there arose in them a mighty hope that in some way the war would work a change in their situation.

For a time indeed it seemed that their hope would be realized. For when the former slave states saw their labor leaving for the North, they began to reflect upon the treatment they had been accustomed to give the Negro and they decided that it was radically wrong. Newspapers and public orators everywhere expressed this change of sentiment, set forth the wrongs in detail, and urged immediate improvement. And immediate improvement came. Better educational facilities were provided here and there, words of appreciation for the worth and spirit of the Negro as a citizen began to be uttered, and public committees arose to inquire into his grievances and to lay out programs for setting these grievances right. Colored people in these states had never experienced such collective good will, and many of them were so grateful and happy that they actually prayed for the prolongation of the war.

At the close of the war, however, the Negro's hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground. Southern newspapers began at once to tell the Negro soldiers that the war was over, and the sooner they forgot it the better. "Pull off your uniform," they said, "find the place you had before the war and stay in it." "Act like a Negro should act," said one newspaper, "work like a Negro should work. Talk like a Negro should talk. Study like a Negro should study. Dismiss all ideas of independence or of being lifted up to the plane of the white man. Understand the necessity of keeping a Negro's place." In connection with such admonitions there came the great collective attacks on Negro life and property in Washington, Chicago, Omaha, Elaine, and Tulsa. There came the increasing boldness of lynchers who advertised their purposes in advance and had their photographs taken as they stood around the burning bodies of their victims. There came vain appeals by the colored people to the President of the

* A commencement part delivered at Harvard University, 1922.

United States and to the Houses of Congress. And finally there came the reorganization and rapid growth of the Ku Klux Klan.

The swift succession and frank brutality of all this was more than the Negro people could bear. Their simple faith and hope broke down. Multitudes took weapons in their hands and fought back violence with bloody resistance. "If we must die," they said, "it is well that we die fighting." And the Negro American world looking on their deed with no light of hope to see by, said, "It is self-defense; it is the law of nature, of man and of God, and it is well."

From those terrible days until this day the Negro's faith in the righteous purpose of the Federal Government has sagged. Some have laid the blame on the parties in power, and some have laid it elsewhere, but all the colored people in every section of the United States believe that there is something wrong, and not accidentally wrong, at the very heart of the government.

Some of our young men are giving up the Christian religion, thinking that their fathers were fools to have believed it so long. One group among us repudiates entirely the simple faith of former days. It would put no trust in God, no trust in democracy, and would entertain no hope of betterment under the present form of government. It believes that the United States government is through and through controlled by selfish capitalists who have no fundamental good will for Negroes or for any sort of laborers whatever. In their publications and on the platform the members of this group urge the colored man to seek his salvation by alliance with the revolutionary labor movement of America and the world.

Another and larger group among us believes in religion and believes in the principles of democracy, but not in the white man's religion and not in the white man's democracy. It believes that the creed of the former slave states is the tacit creed of the whole nation, and that the Negro may never expect to acquire economic, political and spiritual liberty in America. This group has held congresses with representatives from the entire Negro world, to lay out the foundations of a black empire, a black religion and a black culture; it has organized the provisional Republic of Africa, set going a multitude of economic enterprises, instituted branches of its organization wherever Negroes are to be found, and binds them together with a newspaper edited in two languages.

Whatever one may think about these radical movements and their destiny, one thing is certain. They are home grown fruits, with roots deep sprung in a world of black American suffering. Their power lies in the appeal which they make to the Negro to find a way out of his troubles by new and self-reliant paths.

The larger masses of the colored people do not belong to these more radical movements. They retain their belief in the Christian God, they love their country, and hope to work out their salvation within its bounds; but they are completely disillusioned. They see themselves surrounded on every hand by a sentiment of antagonism which does not intend to be fair. They see themselves partly reduced to peonage, shut out from labor unions, forced to an inferior status before the courts, made subjects of public contempt, lynched and mobbed with impunity, and deprived of the ballot their only means of social defense. They see this antagonistic sentiment consolidated in the places of power in the former slave states, and growing by leaps and bounds in the North and West. They know that it is gradually reducing them to an economic, political and social caste. And they are now no longer able to believe with Dr. Booker T. Washington or with any other man that their own efforts after intelligence, wealth and self-respect can in any wise avail to deliver them from these conditions, unless they have the protection of a just and beneficent public policy in keeping with American ideals. With one voice, therefore, from pulpit and from press, and from the humblest walks of life, they are sending up a cry of pain and petition such as is heard to-day from the citizens of no other civilized nation in the world. They are asking for protection of life, for the security of property, for the liberation of their peons, for the freedom to sell their labor on the open market, for a human being's chance in the courts, for a better system of education, and for the boon of the ballot. They

ask, in short, for public equality under the protection of the Federal Government.

And that request is sustained by every sentiment of humanity and by every holy ideal for which this nation stands. The time has come when the elemental justice called for in this petition should be embodied in a public policy initiated by the Federal Government and continuously supervised by a commission of that government representing the faith and will of the entire American people.

The Negro people of America have been with us here for three hundred years. They have cut our forests, tilled our fields, built our railroads, fought our battles, and in all their trials until now they have manifested a simple faith, a grateful heart, a cheerful spirit and an undivided loyalty to our nation that has been a thing of beauty to behold. Now they have come to the place where their faith can no longer feed on the bread of repression and violence. They ask for the bread of liberty, of public equality, and public responsibility. It must not be denied them.

We are sufficiently far removed from the Civil War and its animosities to see that such elements of justice may be given to the Negro with entire good will and helpfulness toward the former slave states. We have already had one long attempt to erect a wealth and culture on the backs of slaves. We found that it was a costly experiment, paid for at last in the blood of our best sons. There are some among our citizens who would turn their backs on history and repeat that experiment, and to their terrible heresy they would convert our entire great community. By every sacred bond of love for them, we must not yield. And we must no longer leave them alone with their experiment. The faith of our whole nation must be brought to their support until such time as it is clear to them that their former slaves can be made both fully free and yet their faithful friends.

Across the seas the darker peoples of the earth are rising from their long sleep, and are searching this western world for light. Our Christian missionaries are among them. They are asking these missionaries: "Can the Christian religion bind this multi-colored world in bonds of brotherhood?" We of all nations are best prepared to answer that question and to be their moral inspiration and their friend. For we have the world's problem of race relationships here in crucible, and by strength of our American faith we have made some encouraging progress in its solution. If the fires of this faith are kept burning around that crucible, what comes out of it is able to place these United States in the spiritual leadership of all humanity. When the Negro cries with pain from his deep hurt and lays his petition for elemental justice before the nation, he is calling upon the American people to kindle anew about that crucible of race relationships the fires of American faith.

"CHARCOAL, LEDDY, CHARCOAL"

(An Idyl of the South)

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

THERE is a primitive wholesomeness in the smell of burning charcoal; a painting of remoteness in the sleepy ashy scarlet of its embers that I cannot describe; a weird voice of yesterday in the tiny groan of the furnace "door" as the bit of tin is pushed upward to let the fire draw. Something about it all is in touch with the past, and hail-fellow with yesterdays and yesterdays, and plantations far removed by time and distance, and voices of long ago Stand and gaze into the little red furnace, and you will feel this with me.

Do you remember what the charcoal stove looks like? It is a small bucket with a thin gray sheeting of metal on the outside and a wall of champagne-colored clay within, perforated. The fire is built in the clay bed with bits of wood and paper beneath the gritty charcoal. After the smoke passes off, the coals start their crafty winking. Then irons are placed on the scarlet bed, and there subtly rises incense, that strangely pure and somniferous incense, as rife with messages from nature as is the odor of wet soil in spring.

I have entered cabins and caught the perfume of kindled charcoal that was ruddily peering from beneath a line of stiff linens. I have seen the worker in her calico turn up the smooth face of the iron and tap it with a wet finger and make the metal sing. And I have thought that this belonged to that vaguely lost time of which Mayetta's notes hint in her "reel"—for with her, that which is not a hymn is a "reel"—

"Hey, Roxie-e-e-e!
Get ready, Roxie!
Saturday night, Roxie-e-e-e!
Let's go home, Roxie-e-e-e!"

She holds the notes till they waste away vaguely, but not before they have drawn you on by a wavering little thread to plantationland with Roxie of the dancing eyes! Even so do the charcoal smells bear one away.

Mayetta insists upon the use of charcoal in her ironing or "mashing down the clo'es," as she terms the process. She is a wise young person, though not an excellent ironer. In fact, she is in my service chiefly for the purpose of dispensing information. Most children of twelve are but meagerly versed in matters pertaining to the elements and occultism. Not so Mayetta. She tells me of the sun, the moon. She tells of the stars, and has a knowledge of simples and information concerning ghosts.

As to appearance, she is possessed of a long black face with cheeks inclined toward plumpness, and little beady black eyes put in on the slant, and teeth that fairly flash, and a lower lip that is woebegone until you are acquainted with Mayetta, and have seen her slender legs and rusty feet in mischievous antics, shuffling in the dance that she has conveyed to town from the plantation. Her favorite tune, as I may have mentioned, seems to be "Roxie". Into this she flings a mischievous vim and sprightliness as she sings out "Roxie" in the course of jigging and the display of white teeth.

There is another of those dances enjoyed by old and young on the plantations. Sometimes she puts aside her ironing to show me this dance. It has such a jaunty tune! And the players are supposed to stand in facing rows, clapping their hands together and singing while one of their number skips

MAYETTA

forward to "steal", as described in the game:

"Ain't goin' tell nobody, good-bye!
King George has stole my heart an' gone.
Good-bye, good-bye, Liza Jane!"

How sprightly is Mayetta in her skipping and hand-smacking! The initial "ain't" is squealed up very high.

The remote dreaminess and happy improvidence often characteristic of plantation life; the sun, the air of the country fields! All that mocking isolation and actual remoteness from concerns of today, all the numbing languor of Dixie's intense summers are here.

You have conveyed to you the picture of bandanna-capped folk who peer inquiringly into the indigo skies to learn of the moon concerning the time to boil lye soap. You can see them putting "deerilee"—as Mayetta calls the Madeira vine—leaf and a pinch of salt on their foreheads to cure headache. Again, you see them applying "headache leaves" in a similar way to cure

the malady whose name they bear, or using the same leaf on a baby's stomach to drive off fever.

You can see them tramping among the okra rows and thrashing the stalks with switches to make the plant bear. You can see them rubbing a scrap of the mirror that has committed the crime of breaking, up and down their backs seven times to forestall evil results. You can see them, when a hawk catches a baby-chick, fling a stone into the fire that the hawk's claws may be drawn in and the chicken freed to fall to earth.

You can see them hanging horseshoes on a peach-bough in spring that the iron may catch the cold which would otherwise blight the fruit. But, ah! the lore of the plantations is scarcely to be mocked!—these fantasies of toilers from time immemorial, who, in woods and fields, molded their codes, bowed in the bronzed cotton-patch perhaps or plucking the earth-enmeshed "goobers"; or bent over improvised kilns for the burning of charcoal, the purifier.

The country men bring charcoal to town in their carts and lustily yell: "Charcoal, leddy! Charcoal!" accenting the second syllable of "charcoal" While the mad red of wild plums fires the forests, come the charcoal men. When figs flare green as the gypsy love-birds, come the charcoal men. When figs have mellowed to an iris-purple, come the charcoal men. When figs glow amber, a prey to June-bugs, come the charcoal men. When fruits are gone, and the China tree's gold is spilled and scattered, come the charcoal men, while magnolia leaves rustle stiffly and the cabin doors are closed. Eternally, eternally, in rattling carts, come the charcoal men, bringing fuel for the washerwomen who have moved to town, hundreds of them, and are bent over the crimson light of charcoal.

"Oh, charcoal, leddy, charcoal!" Why don't you come out and get one of my grimy sacks? I know the sun is gold, the fig trees in radiant foliage; the winds sweet with chinaberry blooms; the front yards aflame with roses; the hedges flaunting the red of pomegranate bloom; but for you the black brusque charcoal; for you the boiling kettle! O black woman of "the land of cotton", for all the glory of your Sabbath, iron today! For the sheenful gorgeous satin of your Sabbath, iron today! Buy the light of your children's tomorrow with this black grime called charcoal. "Oh charcoal, leddy, charcoal!"

WANTED—A REAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

R. McCants Andrews

WHEN Dr. Booker T. Washington organized the National Negro Business League, 22 years ago, the Negro was a weakling in the world of commerce and finance. The creation of such an instrument "To Promote the Commercial and Financial Development of the Negro", is indeed a glowing tribute to the statesmanship of that great leader.

On account of the bitter partisanship then existing between the followers of Washington and other groups within the race, the League became instantly a bourgeois institution and fell under "the Tuskegee influence", where it stubbornly remains to this day.

Meanwhile, the race has grown in knowledge and power and counts its wealth in millions. It has more than one institution with an annual income above the million-dollar-mark. Its eighty banks, its fraternal orders, its many strong insurance companies, chain and grocery enterprises, real estate companies and other concerns all point to the enlightened vision of the "Wizard of Tuskegee" in his endeavor to plan for the commercial expansion of the race. Very little of this achievement, however, can be placed to the credit of the Business League; and it is candid to say that no organization among Negroes assuming national proportions can boast of so little real accomplishment.

In a scathing denunciation of the policy and progress of the League, delivered during its last session in Atlanta, Mr. Ben Davis, the Atlanta editor, described that body as a migratory organization in which

anyone might hold membership who would pay a dollar for a badge; an annual gathering of self-advertised geniuses who come to League meetings to tell how they had made millions without brains or capital; a National League whose delegates are not properly accredited because they represented no local organizations. The allegations of Mr. Davis contain more truth than fiction.

The leading business men of the race have for years regretted that the growth of the League in membership, in constructive program and in administrative efficiency has not been commensurate with the commercial and financial progress of the race; that it has followed rather than led in this progress. This feeling was near to taking voice in Philadelphia two years ago when the young business bloc wanted "A Business Man For President", and could scarcely be restrained by Dr. R. R. Moton's supporters from nominating a prominent Negro banker as their candidate. Announcements that the fight would be renewed at Atlanta were current but the leaders of the bloc were mostly absent; whether on account of despair or on account of the distance is not altogether certain.

The objections aimed at the League are practical rather than personal, and grow out of the nature of the case. Negro business men naturally feel that the Business League would be better directed under the guiding hand of a trained business executive; they believe it to be as illogical to have a school-man as its president as it would be for the National Negro Bar Association to have a physician as leader, or as it would be for the National Medical Association to have a minister as its head.

They also object because "the Tuskegee influence" tends to keep the League in the social rather than in the business field; because Dr. Moton "inherited" the League as Dr. Washington's spiritual successor; because the League is used as platform for race propaganda and as a counter-irritant for other race organizations considered in some circles as "radical". They believe that the Annual Farmers' Conference at Tuskegee should centralize the activities of Negro farmers who can learn considerably more at the Tuskegee farms than they can in cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, Atlanta and Norfolk. They have wearied of brilliant recitals of fame and wealth from delegates who come perennially to conduct personal advertising campaigns. They want the League to be self-supporting and not financed through charity. They want a Business League with a commercial program that will knit together the business interests of the race; an institution that will explore fields of endeavor; guide and sustain Negro trade and become a barometer for the Negro business world.

The virtue in these criticisms may be tested by a study of the Atlanta Session, in 1921.

A registration list prepared from the cards furnished by the League gives the number of registered delegates as 174; 26 of this number came from Tuskegee. The delegates giving their occupations are as follows: Bankers, 12; Insurance Men, 16; Attorneys, 3; Editors and Journalists, 8; Barbers, 1; Letter Carriers, 1; Social Workers, 4; Artists, 1; Contractors, 2; Theatre Owners, 1; Manufacturers and Agents, 8; Teachers, 29; Physicians, 10; Taxi Dealers, 1; Tailors, 1; Musicians, 1; Real Estate Dealers, 9; Undertakers, 8; Ministers, 3; Farmers, 3; Merchants, 9; Physical Directors, 1; Shoemakers, 1; Painters, 1; Occupation Not Given, 43.

This list only represents those who are supposed to have paid the fee of one dollar which entitled them to a badge; but several names of League officers and participants on the program who were present are missing from the list. And it is certain, many other "delegates" attended the session without this ceremony. The program of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting indicates the easy and unrelated treatment of subjects and topics in which the League indulged. Here are a few samples: "Buying and Selling Real Estate", "Second-Hand Furniture Business", "Business Methods in Education", "Opportunities Offered Young Colored Men to Enter Upon Business Careers", "Commerce and Finance", "Banking", "Managing Chain Drug Stores", "The Haberdashery Business", "The Value of Fraternal Organizations", "Hair Culture", "Let Down Your Buckets Where You Are", "The Negro Contractor", "General Merchandising", "The Restaurant Business". Here is a thorough lack of co-ordination, discrimination or scientific approach.

The middle day of the three-day session was called "Affiliated Organization Day". The program carries a "note" which says,

"Much of the prestige and influence of the National Negro Business League is due to its affiliated organizations". The affiliated organizations include, (a) National Negro Undertakers' Association, (b) National Negro Bankers' Association, (c) National Negro Bar Association, (d) National Negro Press Association, (e) National Negro Insurance Men's Association, (f) National Negro Farmers' Association. The program provides that "the Thursday morning session" be devoted "to hearing reports" from these national bodies. In other words, the eighty banks, thirty-odd insurance companies and others included have three or four hours to present "reports". They have not time for group conference, no time for discussion, no time for fundamental considerations of method and practice.

The bankers and insurance men, knowing this, withdrew from the main session and went into conferences which were of great profit. They later sent a spokesman to inform the League that if at future sessions, they could not have an entire day for their work, they would not be justified in attending.

It was soon discovered that the announced speakers on the program were, with few exceptions, the least interesting, and that the affair was rather a "free-for-all" event of decidedly catholic impulse. Out of some forty speeches on assigned subjects (which should have been vital to the purpose and progress of the League), only four were really significant. The speakers were Mr. B. M. Roddy, of Memphis, president of the National Negro Bankers; Mr. James L. Wheeler, of Atlanta, district manager for the North Carolina Mutual, who outlined "Business Achievements of the Negroes of Atlanta"; Mr. Harry H. Pace, of New York, who related his experiences in "Manufacturing Phonograph Records of Negro Voices"; and Mr. C. C. Spaulding, of Durham, secretary-treasurer of the North Carolina Mutual, who was called upon by the president to supply for another on the subject, "Insurance and Banking". These were by no means the only interesting and instructive addresses made; but they were the most illuminating *business* expositions.

Business aside, the session was a most delightful one in point of its cosmopolitanism. The annual report of the secretary, Dr. Emmett J. Scott, was highly interesting. Dr. Moton's annual address was the frankest and most satisfying pronouncement that he has ever made. The address of His Honor, James L. Key, Mayor of Atlanta, bore with it a conviction that there is a New South and that a part of it is in Atlanta.

Other interesting persons took part who heightened the tone of the meeting but who did not (and perhaps were not expected to) contribute to the usefulness of the League as a business institution.

There were also other noticeable failures in the plan and program of the League. County fairs, local bazaars, expositions and similar organizations have made a practice of assembling goods, products, displays and exhibits with the obvious purpose of enlightening the public and *advertising the producers*. The advertisement value alone is often sufficient, in such ensembles, to pay for the undertakings through the rent or sale of booth-space. The National Negro Business League does not evidence sufficient belief in the value of advertising to induce Negro business concerns to assemble creditable displays of their wares. Any county fair in 1921 outpointed the League in this particular.

The most astonishing thing to realize is that the League is actually not in touch with the world of business. Visitors who have attended meetings of the National Medical Association will recall the train of camp-followers who come with instruments, appliances, machinery, books, preparations and pay good prices for selling space to court the doctors and push their trade. Not one sought the League. The makers of office supplies, of fixtures, of business systems, of all the countless things that business firms use, handle or sell, doubtless are unaware that there is in existence an organization of Negroes dedicated to the promotion of the commercial and financial development of the race. In all the discussions of the sessions there was never a mention of a single trade or business journal; and it is doubtful if the League knows whether Mr. Roger Babson is Minister to Siam or Mayor of Lilliput. The United States Government supports a Chamber of Commerce and a Department of Commerce; there are Boards of Trade and local chambers dotting the entire commercial field, many of them powerful enough to dominate entire industries. As far as

any exhibitions of the League went these bodies are foreign to its endeavor.

There was, however, one brilliant illustration on the function of a Business League; and this was demonstrated in the sustained service, the graceful management and the unbounded enthusiasm for the success of the Atlanta session on the part of that group of young, progressive business men who are the officers of the Atlanta local: L. C. Ross, Charles A. Shaw, S. S. Abrams and J. W. Watson. Mr. Abrams is the *salaried*, full-time executive secretary. The local League was responsible for the showing of a motion picture on advertising and sales methods which was highly appreciated by the audiences at its two showings in one of the local theatres. Here, indeed, is another field entirely untouched that would produce enough revenue to finance the League itself—the production of pictures with Negro subjects and business enterprises.

It is not sufficient to point out failures of the National Negro Business League, for which no one is especially to blame. The League is in process of development and must rechart its course. The sensible thing to do is to commit the organization to a policy of definite constructive value for substantial business achievement. There is appended hereto an outline of suggestions which should command the attention of the next gathering to be in annual session at Norfolk. The outline is called the Durham Plan because the Durham delegates and members of the League, together with Berry O'Kelly, member of the Executive Committee, have been thinking in concert and have agreed that it would be business sense to adopt such a program.

THE DURHAM PLAN

First—The Business League Should Be a BUSINESS League.

Modern business has become extremely technical and today is regarded as a science. The old hit-and-miss methods cannot produce within the race a shrewd intelligent commercial class who are to build the financial structure for its future. The League should eliminate all extraneous activities and center its energies upon the development of business. We have in this generation the beginnings of a tremendous force for the economic emancipation of the race; this force needs to be raised from its present individualistic state and expanded into an irresistible all-encompassing, dominating influence.

Second—The Business League Should Be a Business LEAGUE.

Group rather than individual accomplishment should be the aim of the motive power behind the League program. Emphasis is to be placed upon *preparation for* (as well as success in) business. The business centers among Negroes should be apportioned into districts and the League built up around them as nuclei. These districts would include cities like Boston, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Columbus and Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Chicago, Richmond and the Tidewater, Charleston (West Va.), Louisville, Durham, Nashville, Chattanooga and Memphis, Charleston (S. C.) and Columbia, Savannah and Atlanta, Jackson, Jacksonville, St. Louis, Little Rock and Hot Springs, New Orleans, Oklahoma City, Dallas and Houston, Denver, Los Angeles.

Third—The Business League Should Be a Business IN ITSELF.

An essential requirement of a national business organization is a national headquarters. This office should maintain various departments headed by experienced business men who have gained success in their several lines. A trained staff of paid workers and organizers would be an imperative need. The organization should have its own publications, news, services and information, statistical and rating bureaus and promotion systems. The executive committee should include the directors of the several departments.

Fourth—The Business League Should Be a Business SCHOOL.

The Annual Session of the League should be an instructive demonstration and not merely a program. It should be a series of group and departmental conferences which would consume all the time not devoted to recreation and public affairs.

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National · Association · for · the ··· Advancement · of · Colored · People.

THE ANTI-LYNCHING PARADE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE N. A. A. C. P.

NOTHING excels the realization of the dream. How that small handful of people who first envisaged a dozen years ago a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, would have rejoiced if they could have seen Newark during the week of June 18! The convention brought together people of every degree and type, with a plentiful sprinkling of younger men and women intent on learning how, some day, "to carry on".

That first day began with a repetition of the parade which was so conspicuous a feature of last year's meeting at Detroit. Only as this year, young as it is, had already obtained a horrid notoriety from the unprecedented number and boldness of recent lynchings, the slogans carried obtained a new significance. A banner borne by a group of boys told this story: "We are Fifteen Years Old. A Boy of Our Age Was Roasted Alive Recently." Past the City Hall filed the marchers; downtown Newark had never seen such placards as these:

TWO KINDS OF CANNIBALISM

:—:

SAVAGES EAT HUMAN BEINGS WITHOUT COOKING — AMERICANS COOK HUMAN BEINGS WITHOUT EATING

:—:

LIBERTY HOLDS HER TORCH ALOFT TO LIGHT MEN'S FUNERAL PYRES

:—:

12 LYNCHINGS IN MAY 12

THE FAILURE OF THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL WOULD OFFICIALLY CONDONE MOB MURDER

:—:

LYNCH LAW MUST GO
PASS THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

:—:

The fight for the Dyer Bill was on!

After the parade a mass meeting was held in the Newark Armory and three thousand people were welcomed for Governor Edwards of New Jersey by James Baker, Chairman of the State Tax Commission.

Moorfield Storey said at this session: "We refuse to have intercourse with Russia because her government murders its citizens, destroys their property and commits cruelties of every kind. Why not apply the same rule at home? There are such things as boycotts. Everywhere men are striking for higher pay or less work. Would a strike for life and liberty by Negroes in the South be wholly unjustifiable?"

His final words held a prophecy: "Our appeal is to the conscience of the American people. If they will not stand by their colored fellow citizens in this crisis; if they will not resolve that in this day of civilization the torture and murder of human beings by lawless mobs must cease, the future of the country is darkened and calamity is sure to follow."

Discussion on Monday centered around the Anti-Lynching Bill. Mr. T. G. Nutter, who is a member of the West Virginia legislature, outlined the battle which had been fought in his state to secure enactment of such a measure. It was decided to notify the Republican Party that Negro voters were watching the stand taken by Republican senators with regard to the Dyer Bill and that they were prepared to act accordingly. Mr. James Weldon Johnson urged Negro voters to disregard party lines in the fall and to vote for men and measures. Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey sent a telegram definitely pledging his support, and Robert T. Kerlin, the main speaker of the evening session, delivered an able address.

Tuesday introduced a new feature in the shape of "Women's Day". The question of full suffrage rights for colored women was capably handled by Mrs. A. W. Hunton presiding; Miss Hallie Q. Brown of Ohio, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Club; Ella Rush Murray of New York; Clara L. Laddey of New Jersey, representing the Woman's Peace Party; Mrs. Nathan Kussy, representing the National Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. Florence Halsey, representing the New Jersey League of Women Voters, and Mrs. H. N. Simmons, representing the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs.

The great event of the occasion, however, was the presentation of the Spingarn medal to Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, ex-president of the National Association of Colored Women, in recognition of her services toward the preservation of the Frederick Douglass Home.

Part of the Wednesday sessions was devoted to the power of the press and the value of publicity. Speeches were made by Royal J. Davis of the New York Evening Post's editorial staff, and by Nahum D. Brascher of Chicago, president of the Associated Negro Press. In the evening, Representative Leonidas C. Dyer spoke to a large group on the Anti-Lynching Bill. He urged closer organization, the adoption of drastic measures toward an unwilling or apathetic clergy and an instant increase in the membership of the N. A. A. C. P., the organization which was, he said, "entitled to credit for the passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill in the House of Representatives."

His speech was followed by a remarkably lucid address by Arthur B. Spingarn, chairman of the Association's Legal Committee, in which he spoke of the Negro's unequal chance in court. The remedy, Mr. Spingarn felt, lay in fashioning out of the N. A. A. C. P. an instrument so strong as to function for every Negro in the country.

Several hundreds of the delegates spent Thursday, June 22, in seeing New York Harbor and then sailing up the Hudson. They returned to Newark for an evening devoted to "The Negro and the Making of Public Opinion". The speakers were: Walter F. White, assistant secretary N. A. A. C. P., presiding; Dr. Ernest H. Gruening, managing editor of *The Nation;* Bishop I. B. Scott of Nashville, Tenn.; Kelly Miller, dean of the Junior College of Howard University, Washington, D. C., and J. E. Spingarn, critic and author.

That same evening, Daniel Kelly, white, from Waco, Texas, told the gruesome story which he had personally investigated of the burning of three innocent Negroes at Kirvin, Texas.

Final impressions like first being lasting, the closing day of the Newark conference was of great importance. This was evidenced by the large attendance, the extended sessions and the close attention given by auditors. The day was devoted to the passing of resolutions dealing with the Dyer Bill and with expressions of gratitude toward the people of Newark who had helped make the convention a success. The Committee on Resolutions, of which Mr. T. G. Nutter was chairman, and Dr. DuBois, secretary, submitted and had accepted the following declaration:

The first and great question before American Negroes and before America is lynching. We are still the one land in the world which shows itself powerless to prevent the burning of human beings. Eight such human bonfires blazed before crowds of American men, women and children in 1921, and 64 persons were lynched.

On this ground of horrible fact we base our demand for federal legislation against lynching. The constitution of the United States guarantees an accused American citizen a trial by due process of law. Is this provision of our fundamental law impossible of enforcement? Is the constitution itself unconstitutional when it guarantees republican government? We do not believe it.

Every decent American professes to abhor lynching. Every political party has condemned it. The time has come for action.

The Republican Party has always received the bulk of the Negro votes. The Republican Party is in power. The Republican Party has promised by its platform and its President to pass the Dyer Bill. Unless the pledge is kept and this legislation put on the statute book we solemnly pledge ourselves to use every avenue of influence to punish the persons who defeat it. We will regard no man as our friend who opposes this bill.

Slavery still exists in the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment has never been fully enforced. Peonage caused the Arkansas riots. It causes poverty, crime and lynching. We demand the abolition of slavery.

It is this spirit of slavery that has subjugated Haiti. Free Haiti was the first fruit of the French Revolution. Haiti helped South America and the United States in their struggle for freedom. Haiti gave the Mississippi Valley to this nation. Haiti maintained its own independence for one hundred and fourteen years until the slave holding oligarchy of the South came into power. Before election, President Harding rightly condemned that seizure. James Weldon Johnson showed its sordid reasons. Is it possible that America is going to perpetuate this theft? Free Haiti and by that act, restore liberty to black men and self-respect to white.

Discrimination against Negro citizens continues. But lately it disguises its real object less and less. The old pretext for prejudice was dislike of dirt, shrinking from noise, impatience with ignorance; but there is not even this pretext for caste among children, color lines among students, the use of public funds for private prejudices, and the determination of a few to monopolize the use of public institutions which belong to all. The Jim Crow car is the most humiliating and insulting of these acts. The Ku Klux Klan is but the open manifestation of this hidden spirit of caste which seeks to rule our democracy.

This spirit can be met only by organization. We must organize our political power and learn to use it swiftly, intelligently and unselfishly. We must vote not merely to put friends in office, but to put enemies out of power. We must demand laws and policies before appointments. We must use and organize our economic power as consumers to compel economic justice.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its Thirteenth Annual Conference, urges all citizens, black and white, and particularly appeals to all organizations of colored people, to co-operate with it in concentrating the political and economic power of the race so as to pass the Dyer Bill, destroy peonage, restore Haiti and break down caste.

Bethany Baptist Church was crowded to its doors Friday night. People thronged galleries, aisles and vestibule to hear the addresses of Dr. A. A. Goldenweiser, lecturer on Anthropology at the New School for Social Research in New York; Dr. W. E. DuBois, editor of THE CRISIS, and William Pickens, Field Secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. Dr. Goldenweiser declared that the white race was not superior to others. He said: "The evidence of anatomy and neurology so far available does not indicate any superiority of the white race over the other races. The psychological tests during the war to the contrary notwithstanding, the psychologist also fails to provide any definite data to support the contention of psychological inferiority of so-called primitive races, including the Negro, to the white."

Dr. DuBois, in a singularly spirited and scholarly speech, translated the story of

Haiti into a new and beautiful significance. He showed that the Haitians had been the forerunners of self-determinism on the part of small nations in the Americas and that though they had fallen on evil days they had left us a legacy of courage, persistence and culture which we would do well to imitate. Mr. Pickens, in a stimulating discourse dwelt on the need of American Negroes to safeguard their smallest rights, no matter how trivial.

This last evening was further embellished by the presentation on the part of the Ovington Circle of Cleveland, Ohio, of a bouquet of roses to Miss Ovington, and by the rendition of songs by the Choral Club of Newark and by a quintette of young girls from the National Training School, Lincoln Heights, D. C. Mr. Bagnall, Director of Branches, presided at this meeting.

DANSE AFRICAINE

By Langston Hughes

THE low beating of the tom-toms,
The low beating of the tom-toms,
Slow....slow
Low....slow—
Stirs your blood.
Dance!
A night-veiled girl whirls softly
Into a circle of light,
Whirls softly....slowly,
Like a wisp of smoke around the fire—
And the tom-toms beat,
And the tom-toms beat,
And the low beating of the tom-toms
Stirs your blood.

SINGER DEPARTED

James Waldo Fawcett

ONE sang a while, then proudly went his way;
And I sat lonely, weeping all the day;
Where others blandly marvelled at his art,
I bore his song an arrow in my heart.
For though the careless world was there to see
I know he sang his song for none but me,
And I shall wait his coming nor rejoice
For any beauty ever save his voice!

DILWORTH ROAD REVISITED

Jessie Fauset

THE little road to Dilworth Town
Still laughs and loiters by the brook,
And lovers love it in the Spring
And haunt each blossomy nook.

Sad years ago my love and I
Strolled all its sunny length one day,
To Dilworth's ivied church,—and then
Sighing, we turned away.

Ah, Dilworth Road, can you still laugh
When on another road's expanse,—
"The Ladies' Road", they call it,—lies
My lover,—dead for France!

AFTER MANY SPRINGS

Langston Hughes

NOW,
In June,
When the night is a vast softness
Filled with blue stars,
And broken shafts of moon-glimmer
Fall upon the earth,
Am I too old to see the fairies dance?
I cannot find them anymore.

A PILGRIMAGE TO JOHN BROWN'S GRAVE

J. Max Barber

JOHN BROWN was born May 9, 1800, and was hanged December 2, 1859. This year marks the 122d anniversary of his birth, and the 63d year since his death. In discussing the life of John Brown with my good friend, Dr. J. Theodore Irish, last winter, he remarked that it seemed singularly ungrateful that the Negro had never shown any special honor to this great friend of the race. The thought struck me as being a serious indictment against our people.

Here was a man who devoted his fortune and the fortunes of his family to the cause of freedom, and who finally gave his life for that cause. Here was a man who had more to do with the emancipation of the Negro than did even Lincoln—for in the

final analysis, public opinion ended slavery. Abraham Lincoln was not a leader of public opinion on the slave question. His heart was wrapped up in the Union, and he wanted it saved with or without slavery, although he had seen that a nation half slave and half free could not long endure. That was before he was elected as President and before the web of politics had hedged his free opinion. John Brown saw at the beginnng and saw at the end that slavery was wrong, an unclean thing in the world. It should be eradicated at all costs. It was

AT THE GREAT ROCK, BESIDE THE GRAVE

eating away the heart of American ideals and arresting the progress of civilization. it brutalized the slave and the master. It handicapped America in her bid for the moral leadership of the world. A vampire people had accomplished the ravishment of a race. To this old Puritan the time for cajoling and temporizing with the unclean thing had passed. The fester had to be lanced.

He gave his life for this idea. Time has proved that this old prophet of stark and sheer vision was right. Within less than two years after his death, at Charlestown, the blue-clad armies of the North were marching to the tune of

"John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on."

If John Brown had not died, the soul of the North would have slept on in a dead dream, and slavery would have tightened its grip on the nation's throat.

Why should Negroes forget this knight who heard their cry of distress and was lured to the gallows for their liberty? We would that this should not be. I brought the matter to the attention of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They voted unanimously to send a pilgrimage to lay a wreath on John Brown's grave on the occasion of his next birthday. Dr. T. Spotuas Burwell, the vice-president of the local organization, and the writer, were selected to make the pilgrimage. Both of us are busy men, but we felt that the sacrifice should be made and so we went.

Our information about Lake Placid, where John Brown is buried, was limited. We had had letters from the town clerk, from Miss Alice L. Walker, a colored woman who runs a sanitorium for tubercular people at Saranac Lake, and from Rev. Robert L. Clark, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal Church where the night meeting was held. We had also secured a letter

from the New York State Conservation Commission giving us permission to hold services at the grave. John Brown's farm is now owned by the State of New York, and is kept up as a memorial to the old abolition hero.

Dr. Burwell and I anticipated no crowd at the grave. We had said that we would count on Miss Walker, perhaps Dr. Clark, and possibly a half dozen colored people. There are hardly a dozen colored people in the two towns of Saranac and Placid. Fancy our surprise to find when we reached Placid, that the public schools had taken a holiday for the occasion, the Chamber of Commerce sent a delegation to welcome us, and the distingushed people of the town came out to be at the memorial services. There were perhaps one hundred and fifty automobiles parked around the grave and a thousand people there to do honor to our hero. The school children walked the three and one-half miles to be with us.

THE SONG

John Brown is buried beneath the shadow of a great rock. The writer spoke to the people from the top of this rock. The burden of his address was a call for another John Brown to attack lynching, Ku Kluxism, disfranchisement, and Jim Crowism. A magnificent wreath was laid on the grave.

One of the surprising features of the occasion was the way we were received. Among our audience was a judge from the town. We had present lawyers, doctors, school-board members, and members of the aristocratic clubs. Old soldiers embraced us. Men who knew John Brown wept for joy that this long-deferred occasion had come. Our photographs were taken by a dozen cameras. Even a movie camera was there. School girls took pictures for their civic class. Our pictures are now on sale as souvenir postcards in Placid, and at the caretaker's place on the farm.

One of Brown's sons sent a letter which was read. Byron Brewster, who was reared in John Brown's family, welcomed us, and Lyman Epps, a colored man who as a boy in 1859 sang in a quartette at John Brown's funeral, sang two verses of the same hymn.

At night, memorial services were held at the M. E. Church, of which Rev. Robert L. Clark is pastor. The people insisted that we make an annual pilgrimage to the grave, and they are especially desirous that on our next trip we bring a Negro quartette. At our night meeting, Dr. Burwell made a strong statement of the objects of the National Association, linking it up with John Brown's old league of Gileadites. The occasion was indeed a most inspiring one and we cannot possibly forget it. The Rev. J. A. Jones of Oneida happened to be in that neck of the country, and was glad to be present at the services. Without the interest and co-operation of Miss Alice L. Walker and Rev. Robert L. Clark, we could not have possibly made the occasion such a success.

A SONNET IN MEMORY OF JOHN BROWN

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

WE lift a son to you across the day
Which bears through travailing, the seed you spread
In terror's morning, flung with fingers red
In blood of tyrants, who debarred the way
To Freedom's dawning. Hearken to the lay
Chanted by dusky millions, soft and mellow-keyed
In minor measure, Martyr of the Freed,
A song of memory across the Day!

Truth cannot perish, though the earth erase
The royal emblems, leaving not a trace;
And time still burgeoneth the fertile seed
Though he is crucified who wrought the deed:
O, Alleghanies, fold him to your breast
Until the Judgment! Sentinel his rest!

The Horizon

COMPILED BY MADELINE G. ALLISON

THE following colored commissioned officers graduated from a Retired Officers Training Course were recently commissioned as Second Lieutenants at Howard University by Assistant Secretary of War Wainwright: J. W. Keller, Chester, Pa.; A. W. Burleigh, New York City; J. B. Allen, Meadow, Va.; A. W. Ferguson, Richmond, Va.; J. W. Nicholson, Jackson, Tenn.; P. R. Higginbotham, Lynchburg, Va.; S. R. Cheevers, Albany, Ga.; Edward A. Simmons, Charleston, S. C.; C. A. Riley, Houston, Tex.; G. H. Sembley, Lutherville, Md.; J. J. Evans, Washington, D. C.; Charles S. Walker, Mound Bayou, Miss.; J. T. A. Smith, Middleburg, Va.; W. B. Greene, Lawrenceville, Va.; K. S. Jones, Lake City, Fla. "They are the first Negro students to be so commissioned. They must not be the last!"

¶ Charles H. Anderson received the A.B. degree from *Geneva College* and also the degree in oratory. He is engaged with Westinghouse Radio House of Pittsburgh to read over their radio this summer.

¶ P. G. Wolo received the degree of B.D. from *Union Seminary*. He is a member of the Kru tribe from Liberia and is an A.B. of Harvard and an A.M. of Columbia.

¶ M. M. Fisher received the degree of B.D. from the *Northern Baptist Seminary* of Chicago and also the degree of Master of Arts from the *University of Chicago*.

¶ Other degrees have been granted as follows:

Pacific Union College. O. A. Troy, Bachelor of Arts; V. C. Hamilton, Bachelor of Arts.

The University of Kansas. Walter E. Gray, A.B.

Northwestern University. Warren W. Williams, Bachelor of Science and Com-

RESERVE OFFICERS, COMMISSIONED AT HOWARD

merce with diploma in Finance and Banking. Mr. Williams completed the regular four-year college course in three years and is a First Lieutenant in the O. R. C.

Boston University. A. W. Easton, LL.B.

Adelbert College. George W. Brown, Master of Arts.

Stanley E. Brown, a graduate of Adelbert College, was admitted to the Phi Beta Kappa.

The University of Washington. Lottie Biggs, Bachelor of Science; C. A. Coleman, Pharmaceutical Chemist, ranking first in his class.

Columbia Catholic College. Norman A. Duckette, Bachelor of Arts.

Biddle University graduates 15 Bachelors of Arts, 5 Bachelors of Science, 5 Masters of Arts, and one Bachelor of Divinity. T. T. Green was first honor man in college.

Howard University. A.M.: Grace Coleman, Louise Miller. A. B., cum laude: Z. A. Looby, Beatrice V. Howell, Dorothea W. Jones. B.S., cum laude: Marcelle B. Brown. There were 35 degrees of B.A. in the College of Liberal Arts and 42 degrees of B.S. In the School of Education there were seven A.B. degrees and two B.S.; the School of Applied Science had ten bachelors and the School of Commerce eleven.

Syracuse University. Milton N. Small, A.B.

Oskaloosa College. George W. Simmons, Bachelor of Sacred Literature.

H. M. Smith, a graduate of *Colgate University* has been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa.

Western Reserve University. A. M. Gibson, D.D.S.; Perry B. Jackson, A.B. and LL.B.

The University of Kansas. George W. Hamilton, Jr., LL.B.

Temple University. Martin E. Gibbs, graduate in pharmacy. He was awarded prizes for the highest general average in chemistry, second highest average in all senior branches, and honorable mention for highest general average; R. N. Gordon, D.D.S.

Paine College. S. M. Jenkins, B.S.

Philander Smith College. Four Bachelors of Arts.

West Virginia Collegiate Institute. One Bachelor of Arts.

The State College at Orangeburg, S. C.: One Bachelor of Arts and 3 Bachelors of Science.

Garret Theological Seminary. R. E. Clement, B.D.; Mr. Clement at the same time received his M.A. from the *Northwestern University.*

Morningside College, Iowa: R. M. Williams, A.B.

University of Detroit. H. H. Tarrant, LL.B.

Florida A. & M. College. Six Bachelors of Science.

Straight College. Two Bachelors of Arts and 1 Bachelor of Science.

University of California. Walter O. Gordon, A.B., athlete and football coach, Alpha Phi Alpha; R. Berlinda Davison, M.A.

Emerson College of Oratory. Gertrude P. McBrown, Bachelor of Literary Interpretation.

Bishop College. Thirteen Bachelors of Science, 3 Bachelors of Theology.

Chicago Piano College graduated 7 colored students.

Hunter College. Isa M. Gitten, A.B.

Ohio University. E. W. Barrier, Bachelor of Arts.

Butler College. Henrietta Herod, A.B., completing the course in three and one-half years.

University of Michigan. A. B.: John R. Cottin, Jessie L. Craig, Monroe Crawford, Dewey R. Jones, Loratius L. McKenzie. B.S.: H. D. Shaw, W. H. Byrd. D.D.S.: Helene T. Tines.

State University of Iowa. A. B.: Imogen E. Wilson.

¶ The Carnegie Corporation and the Spelman Rockefeller Memorial have given $25,000 each to the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, of which Dr. C. G. Woodson is director. This association publishes quarterly a Journal of Negro History and will now appoint two investigators in Negro history and grant a few fellowships.

¶ Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, who received the Spingarn medal for 1921, was born in 1866 in Oberlin, Ohio, being the ninth child of her parents. She was educated in the Oberlin High School and Oberlin College and taught school in Arkansas. In 1891 she married W. H. Talbert of Buffalo, and has since been prominent in social work. She has travelled in all parts of the United States, in Cuba and Europe. During the war, as president of the National Association of Colored Women, she organized them for war work, toured the South for the

S. Elizabeth Townsend
M. A. Columbia

P. G. Wolo
B. D. Union

Walter E. Gray, Jr.
A. B. Kansas

Gertrude P. McBrown
B.L.I., Emerson

H. H. Tarrant
LL.B., Detroit

W. Arvey Wood
LL.B., Howard

R. N. Gordon
D.D.S., Temple

Charles H. Anderson
A.B., B.O., Geneva

E. W. Barrier
A.B., Ohio

Arthur W. Easton
LL.B., Boston U.

R. E. Clement
B.D., Garret Theological Seminary

M.A., Northwestern

Eldridge C. Ross
A.B., Colorado

Beatrice H. Cannady
LL.B., Northwestern College of Law

Frederick A. Winslow
Auburn High School

Ellis O. Knox
A.B., California

O. R. Tatum
A.B., California

L. P. Miller
LL.B., Pennsylvania

William A. Johnson
A.B., California

Ida L. Jackson
A.B., California

Warren W. Williams
B.S., Northwestern

S. M. Greene
Phar. G., Ohio State

H. Herod
A.B., Butler

Vivian Osborne-Marsh
A.M., California

Walter O. Gordon
A.B., California

Mrs. C. R. Foster
A.B., Roger Williams

Mattie H. Rowan
A.B., Valedictorian, Fisk

Birdia M. Williams
B.S., Ohio State

Isa M. Gittens
A.B., Hunter

C. L. Moxley, Jr.
A.B., Valedictorian
Morehouse

Howard D. Dugran
A.B., California

Julia V. Johnson
Bangor High School

H. B. Campbell
A.B., Grinnell

Mr. Atwell | Mr. Perry | Miss Smith | Mr. Murphy

N. A. A. C. P., and, after the armistice went to Europe as a Y. M. C. A. worker. She was the first colored woman to be elected delegate to the International Council of Women.

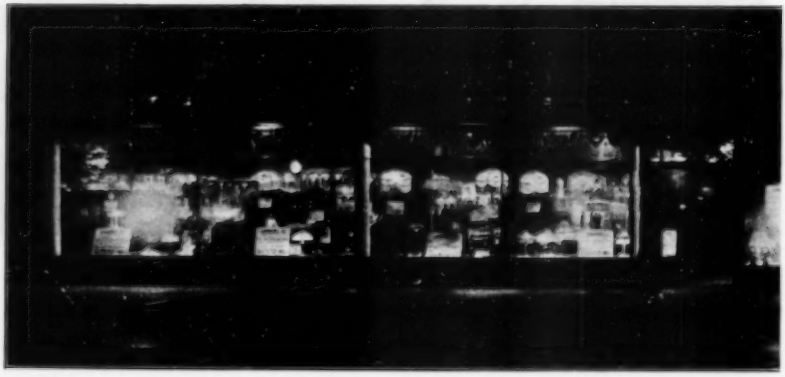
¶ Florence J. Smith has been a teacher in the District of Columbia for nearly a half century and has been principal of the Birney School for 38 years. She is the daughter of John J. Smith, former member of the Massachusetts Legislature and of the Boston City Council. On her recent retirement she was given a notable banquet and testimonial.

¶ George W. J. Perry has been appointed postmaster of Boley, Oklahoma. He has been editor of the Boley *Progress* and was regimental sergeant-major of the 805th Pioneer Infantry, A. E. F.

¶ Ernest T. Attwell was born in 1878 and educated in New York City. He eventually became Business Agent at Tuskegee and in 1918 was organizer for the colored people of the food administration under Herbert Hoover. After the war he became an organizer for the Community Service and is now Field Director of their Bureau of Colored Work with headquarters at Philadelphia.

¶ With the death of John Henry Murphy, at the ripe age of 81 years, American Negro journalism loses its dean. He was born in Baltimore in 1840. He was sergeant in the Civil War, serving in the Wilderness Campaign and with Sherman in North Carolina. He worked as a whitewasher, a feed merchant and a printer, and for 26 years has been owner and editor of the *Afro-American*, in which he set a new mark for interest and news-gathering. He is survived by 8 children, 20 grandchildren and 2 great grandchildren.

¶ The cornerstone of an orphan's home has been laid in St. Louis. Among the chief



SANDERS' CHRISTMAS STORE

THE CAST IN "EVERY WOMAN" AT ST. LOUIS

donors were Mr. and Mrs. Aaron E. Malone under whose auspices and for the home, the morality play "Every Woman" was presented in March. Mary Ross Dorsey directed the play and trained the cast which consisted of herself, Mrs. Pearl Phillips, Miss Ruth Harris and Miss Josephine Harris.

¶ In 1915, Mr. and Mrs. Edward D. Sanders established the Sanders Company, manufacturers of silk lamp shades, in Indiana. During the holiday season the company did a business of $1000 per day. It has a salary list of 55 people. The Indiana *Review* says: "Mr. Sanders has set up a great store in the midst of the great busi-

AT INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

PASTORS OF CONCORD CHURCH, 1847-1922

ness district of Indianapolis, and which for beauty and attractiveness is not outrivalled by any of the stores in this city. Here is a lamp shade factory and store covering thousands of square feet of space, all the work being done by young colored women and men."

¶ Concord Baptist Church of Brooklyn is celebrating its 75th anniversary. It was founded in 1847 as an off-shoot of Abyssinia Baptist Church of New York. During its 75 years of life it has had only six pastors, two of whom, the Rev. William T. Dickson and the Rev. William M. Moss, have been widely known. The present church is out of debt and has just purchased a parsonage.

¶ A movement has been started to erect a statue to Pietro Alonzo, pilot of the ship Nina in the voyage of Christopher Columbus. Alonzo is said to have been a Negro.

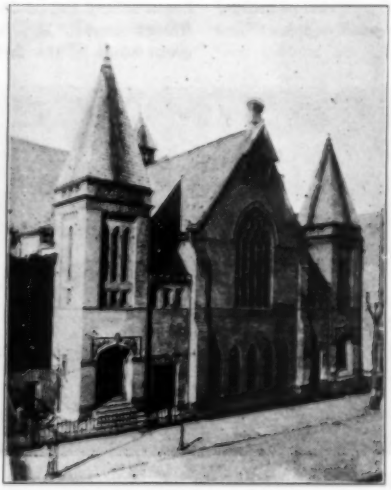
¶ In Louisiana, the political faction led by Walter Cohen, the colored leader, has succeeded in gaining the recognition of the administration. This means the downfall of the "Lily White" movement in Louisiana and perhaps throughout the South.

¶ William McBrier, a former Kentucky slave, recently died in Ottawa, Kansas. He was 70 years of age and owned 315 acres of the richest land in Franklin county.

¶ William Peoples, who died in Montezuma, Kansas, in 1916, left an estate worth $90,000. He and his brother were part of the colored Kansas migration. His brother is still living and worth $50,000.

¶ Robert Wilberforce, great grandson of William Wilberforce, delivered the commencement address at Wilberforce University.

¶ At a recital of original composition in the Cosmopolitan School of Music and Dramatic Art, Chicago, two compositions by Elnora Manson of Chicago were rendered. At a recital of the American Conservatory of Music, a Negro spiritual, arranged by Hilbert E. Stewart, was sung by the Hyde Park Baptist choir, a white organization.



CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH

¶ A pageant called the Culture of Color was given at the class night exercises of the Miner Normal School, Washington.

¶ The official program of the 46th annual track and field meeting of the Inter-Collegiate Association of the amateur athletes of America was held at Harvard. E. O. Gourdin's picture adorned the front page and he acted as one of the officials of the day.

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

MARY SIEGRIST in the *Survey*:

GANDHI

Who is it walks across the world today?
A Christ or Buddha on the common way—
This man of peace through whom all India draws
Breathlessly near to the eternal will?
Hush, what if on our earth is born again
A leader who shall conquer by the sign
Of one who went strange ways in Nazareth?

Who is it sits within his prison cell
The while his spirit goes astride the world?
This age-fulfilling one through whom speak out
The Vedas and Upanishads—who went
Naked and hungry forth to find the place
Where human woe is deepest and to feel
The bitterest grief of India's tragic land?
Whose is this peace that challenges a world,
That calls divine resistance to a will
No man upholds? Whose is this voice
Through whom the Orient comes articulate?
Whose love is this that is an unsheathed sword
To pierce the body of hypocrisy?
Whose silence this that calls across the World?

In this strange leader are all races met;
In his heart East and West are one immortally;
Through him love sounds his clarion endlessly
To millions prostrate who have lain agelong
Beneath the oppressor's heel—unwearied saint
Who gives them back the ancient memory
Of a great dawn, a lost inheritance.

In his deep prison there in India
Somehow abreast with sun and sky he waits.
What if again a Christ is crucified
By some reluctant Pilate—if again
The blind enact their old Gethsemane?

Tread softly, world, perhaps a Christ leads on
Today in India.

* * *

"The Trend of the Races" by Dr. George Edmund Haynes has been published jointly by the Council of Women for Home Missions and the Missionary Education movement of the United States and Canada. It deals ably from a scientific, religious and economic standpoint with the relations of the two races in America. Dr. Haynes sums up his findings thus:

Whether we acknowledge it or not, the inseparable inheritance of the two races binds their welfare today and determines their progress tomorrow. We have tried the ways of war, of repression by force at great cost and increasing turmoil. Where progress and development of the two races is impartially studied, it becomes very clear that improvement in the intelligence and wealth of the one race has been bound up with the advancement of the other. Is it not time to capitalize this constructive, co-operative experience in the way of good-will? The task of amicable race relations at home and abroad involves the finding the ways of discovery and depression in action of this goodwill. White and Negro Americans work together as men and women facing common problems in the same land—problems of economic adjustment, problems of education, problems of civic and political justice, problems of public opinion as they strive toward national ideals. There ha e been and doubtless will continue to be conflicting interests. Deeper than these surface waves, however, there are doubtless greater co-operative impulses and interests for those who are settled upon the same soil.

* * *

The same publishers mentioned above issue "In the Vanguard of a Race" by L. H. Hammond. The author has very commendably grouped together the accounts of men and women not generally known, all of them except Booker Washington and Mr. Burleigh being lesser lights. The result is to make the reader conscious of a large and increasing number of leaders and exemplars. This is a fine and encouraging realization. The book is very attractive in a pleasant narrative almost childishly simple style. We quote two unrelated but significant passages:

The oldest races are the pygmies of the Congo and of South Africa. They are a queer little folk who, Professor Elliot says in his Prehistoric Man, "seem to have been the very first race to understand and realize the importance of botany." Their knowledge of plants is quite wonderful. They are also "clever artists and musicians, and may be the inventors of the first violin."

Many of them are clever iron-workers. In fact iron is believed to have been made into tools and weapons in Africa long before Europe learned its uses and even while our

own forefathers still had no tools but flints.

* * * * * *

"And puts sweet music into my soul." That is especially the dower of African blood. It pours out in kindly laughter and friendly human cheerfulness amid circumstances which would turn Nordic blood to gall or flame. It wells up to God in the strange, soul-moving melody of the "spirituals" out of slavery itself. White slaves have attained spiritual vision—Epictetus is undying witness to that, but did ever a whole race of slaves lift their hearts in song before? When the races of men are all developed and the contribution of each to the Race of Man can be defined, that of the African race will be based on this very quality—that it "puts sweet music into my soul."

FAIR (!) HARVARD

AND now Jim Crow makes his appearance in the last stronghold of American Democracy. Harvard discloses her desire to limit the number of Jewish students and her avowed practice of debarring Negroes from the freshmen dormitories. This policy has brought a protest from all over the country. We read in the Boston *Post*:

Thousands of Harvard undergraduates are signing the petition circulated among the older alumni throughout the United States, protesting against an alleged "Jim Crow policy" at the Cambridge university.

Charges that the color line is drawn by the authorities at Harvard has caused the same widespread criticism aroused several weeks ago when it was announced that plans were under way to have a more select student body and the number of Jews admitted each year would be considered.

The petition drafted in behalf of colored men flatly asserts that the University, which before the Civil war mothered most of the famous champions of equal rights is now "drawing the color line" to cater to students from the Southern States.

* * *

William J. Knox tells in the Boston *American* of Harvard's discrimination:

"I went to the college office to determine why I was barred, with others of my race, from the freshman dormitory after being assigned to a room and receiving my registration card, and I was told that it was a new rule that Negroes should not be admitted to the freshman dormitories."

* * *

H. S. adds to this in the same paper:

There are some people who take issue with your paper, saying that there is no color line drawn or race prejudice shown at Harvard. Not only is it present at the college proper, but it has spread to the professional schools as well. As an instructor at the Dental School, I know what I am talking about. Take for an example, the class book, "The Mirror". In this class book the students' names are arranged alphabetically. In the "Mirror" of the class of 1918 all the names are arranged in this order until the name of Sullivan, who was placed last of all for the simple reason that he was colored. If this isn't showing prejudice, I don't know what is. Probably the dean of the school can explain this.

* * *

The seven Harvard alumni who have drawn up the petition of protest and who are circulating it among Harvard graduates all over the country, are mentioned in the New York *World*.

They are headed by the Rev. Dr. William Channing Gannett of Rochester, N. Y., Unitarian clergyman and author. A member of the class of 1860, Dr. Gannett matriculated at Harvard in the very heat of the Abolitionist movement.

Another member of the committee is Moorfield Storey, '66, of Boston, who was private secretary to Charles Sumner just after the Civil War and who has been a President of the Massachusetts Bar Association and a former overseer of Harvard. He is President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Other members of the committee are Charles C. Burlingham, '79, of New York, internationally known as an authority on maritime law and formerly President of the Board of Education;; Alfred Jaretzki, '81; John Reynolds, '07; Edward Eyre Hunt, '10, who was in charge of American relief work in Antwerp during the war now Secretary of the President's Conference on Unemployment, and Robert C. Benchley, '12, the writer.

A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard who did not sign the Anti-Lynching Memorial, quite frankly avows his predilection for the policy of the South.

The Brooklyn *Eagle* reports him as saying:

"If Harvard were faced by the alternative of either admitting Negroes to the freshmen halls where white students are compelled to go, or of excluding Negroes altogether, it might be compelled like other colleges to adopt the other alternative."

* * *

And the New York *Tribune* continues his remarks:

"We owe to the colored man the best possible opportunities for education, but we do not owe to him inclusion in a compulsory social system with other people when it is not mutually agreeable."

The *New Republic* is uncompromising in its denunciation of this undemocratic and unsocial attitude:

* * *

Every argument advanced by President Lowell for the compulsory segregation of freshmen in dormitories of their own, might be invoked in favor of Negro participation in that system. If the building up of an esprit de corps in accordance with the Harvard tradition be aimed at, what more essential element of such tradition can be cited than that involved in the equality of all students in their relation to the institution? There are two ways of dealing with race prejudice. One is to retreat before it, with apologetic and flattering gestures. This is the Jim Crow way. The other is to attack it, by reason and example. This is the way of education. Harvard has the duty of educating thousands of young men in this as in other problems of citizenship. She is peculiarly bound by the responsibilities of leadership in this matter. She is strong enough to say to candidates for admission that if they are not willing to accept her principle of equality they cannot become her sons.

* * *

This same paper comments on President Lowell's Anti-Semitism:

That President Lowell is himself of the Jim Crow school of thought is shown by his letter to Mr. A. A. Benesch in regard to the limitation of the number of Jews. President Lowell accepts the fact of race prejudice. "There is most unfortunately a rapidly growing anti-Semitic feeling in this country." "The question for those of us who deplore such a state of things is how it can be combatted." "If every college in the country would take a limited proportion of Jews I suspect we should go a long way toward eliminating race feeling among the students." This is a perfect illustration of the attempt to exorcise the fiend by caressing it. The purring note is unmistakable in the phrases in which he invites the Jews themselves to join him whole-heartedly in making this sacrifice. Mr. Benesch found an easy mark in President Lowell's argument, pointing out the logical conclusion that "a complete prohibition against Jewish students in the colleges would solve the problem of anti-Semitism."

OUT OF THE SOUTH

GEORGIA boasts at least one citizen who is not afraid to call a spade, a spade. After speaking of the achievements of Anglo-Saxon blood, M. Ashby Jones, D.D., writes in the Atlanta *Constitution* of the dangers involved in building too much on this foundation:

We ought to learn the lesson that no race nor nation nor individual can inherit greatness. Only the opportunity to become great can be inherited. All that is truly great in life must be achieved. Our Anglo-Saxon fathers won their place in the world, and only as we follow in the pathway of their principles and express in our life the spirit and genius of their ideals have we a right to hope to maintain the supremacy of the race. Here in the South we boast of the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon blood, and, basing our claim on the achievements of the past, we have proclaimed the dogma that the Anglo-Saxon race must be supreme.

This is a fatal fallacy. Any people or any individual who bases the claim to superiority on the achievements of the fathers is denying the fundamental principle of democracy, and attempting to substitute the heresy of inheritance for the true principle of the regnancy of righteous achievement. The Anglo-Saxon race can only maintain the supremacy of the past by maintaining today the spirit and ideals by which our fathers won their way in the world of yesterday. . . .

When I boast of Anglo-Saxon supremacy in the world, my pride is in their record of fair play, their fine sense of chivalry, their disciplined obedience to their own law, and their long history of protection of the weak by the strong. I believe that the Anglo-Saxon race has a right to be supreme, and will be supreme, only so long as the Anglo-Saxon race is supremely fair and supremely just to all men.

* * *

Are the actions of whites toward Negroes measured by such standards? Dr. Jones replies sternly:

I am trying to imagine the God of civilization looking quietly on at the scene enacted in Washington county, Georgia, two weeks ago. A crowd of Anglo-Saxons have taken a 16-year-old Negro boy from the hands of legal officers and are slowly burning him to death. They have denied him his right under magna charta to a trial by jury—they have nullified their own democratic constitution, and proven themselves incapable of disciplined obedience to their own government. They have lost all sense of fairness and every vestige of likeness to a civilized people, as with barbaric cruelty they revert to the methods of savages. This mob, on the tortured testimony of the boy whom they believe to be bad enough to be burned, take two other Negroes and burn them to death. Will the God of civilization adjudge these representatives of the Anglo-Saxon race as superior to the Negro race,

and ordain that the spirit which they expressed that day shall remain supreme in our civilization?

* * *

This boy's crime though horrible was not characteristic of any one race.

He was the representative of a criminal class of humanity which is just as numerous among the white races of America today as among the Negroes. . . . Nearly a year ago in the city of Atlanta, a young white man dreamed in sensual eagerness of a life of lust and idle indulgence. To make his dream come true he entered a jewelry store, and in the accomplishment of his burglary murdered one man and shot another almost to death. That young white man still parades through the courts of Georgia, the sensational hero of abnormal imagination and morbid sentimentality. He is defended by all the arts of the legal profession and protected by every technical ingenuity. He is a representative of the Anglo-Saxon race. Is he superior to the Negro criminal whose charred ashes were sprinkled upon the altar of Anglo-Saxon justice in Washington county?

* * *

There is some strange contradiction in these facts:

When Governor Dorsey's long list of injustices done the Negro race was published in pamphlet form by a group of patriotic citizens, it elicited a violent storm of protest. Indignation meetings were held and demands for the impeachment of the governor were made on the ground that he was slandering the good name of the state. Here in one community three Negroes were burned and one hanged by a mob within a few hours. That same week another Negro, under sentence of death by the court, was taken from the officers and only escaped through an automobile accident. I have heard of no indignation meetings held in condemnation of these barbaric acts. And yet the great metropolitan newspapers of the nation have broadcast this renewed assertion of our Anglo-Saxon superiority to the world. Are we to condone by our silence these brutal burnings of human beings by a mob? We are fronted with a new and astounding moral dictum that the mob who fouls the record of our race must be uncondemned, and that those who publicly proclaim their righteous abhorrence of such deeds are hurting the fair name of our state.

* * *

Southerners protest a federal anti-lynching bill on the ground of unconstitutionality? What are state-rights compared with human life?

When the Dyer anti-lynching bill was before Congress, our southern representatives, backed by our press, protested against its passage on the ground that it was an invasion of the rights of the state. What did they mean by the state's rights? Its right to protect the mob or the accused citizen? I blush to be forced to acknowledge that from our record in Georgia thus far the answer to the question is difficult.

I too believe, as I have said in this column before, that it is the right and the duty of the state to see to it that its humblest citizen is protected in his right to a legal trial by jury, and I would deplore the day when it became necessary for the national government to perform this duty. But only one blind to the present situation can deny that unless the righteous citizens of the South rise up and demand that the state perform this primary function of a freedom-loving commonwealth, it will be necessary for the national government to assume the task. The Dyer bill seems dead for the time being. Is not this the supreme opportunity for Georgia to enact its own anti-lynching legislation, and back it with the full force of a justice-loving people?

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

A BRIBE

AS a concrete example of mischief-breeders, I will cite "The Birth of a Nation." That the danger from such films is real is proved by the fact that the colored people of Wilmington, Del., recently have been offered 30 per cent of the profits of a new showing of "The Birth of a Nation" if they would withdraw objections which have succeeded in banishing it from the city.

In the name of that pure democracy which we all hope to live to see, in the name of God, the Father of brown men as of white men, and in the name of Christ, whose standard of brotherhood we claim to follow, we beg you to give this subject your serious attention and vigorous action.

On behalf of the committee,
Anne Biddle Stirling,
Chairman Inter-Racial Committee of Philadelphia, in letter to Will Hays.

* * *

AS OTHERS SEE US

MISS MAUDE ROYDEN, pulpit assistant of the City Temple has given London her impressions of the United States gained during her recent visit.

There was not in all the world a more heartrending problem than that of the position of the 11,000,000 Negroes in the States. Miss Royden deprecated the hasty judgment of America's attitude on this matter. It was pointed out to her that in every town they passed there was an annex of squalid shanties ("Nigger Town"). She found that it was impossible to stay in the same hotel with colored delegates, and that if they had shared a meal with a colored delegate they might have been broken up by the Ku Klux Klan.

It was considered an incredibly daring thing that a white woman should speak on the same platform as a Bishop of Negro blood but of fair complexion who had been invited to address them. They dared not offer him even a cup of coffee. These things made her realize that the problem was not being handled in the right way. She found Americans who believed that intermarriage would be the right solution, but she did not find one who would let her use his or her name in public.—Manchester *Guardian*, London.

* * *

APPRECIATION

TEN million of the inhabitants of the United States are Negroes. Some of them are pure-blooded and some of them are of mixed blood. Some of them are black and some brown. But they are all Negroes.

The ancestors of these people were brought from Africa as slaves and were kept in bondage until a bloody war and Abraham Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation set them free. That was only sixty years ago. And in that brief space of time the American Negro has made the most amazing progress that any race has ever made in the history of civilization.

You must count the progress of a race only from the time that it was given an opportunity to think and act for itself. And the American Negro has had that opportunity for only sixty years. . . .

But, all that is far less wonderful than the fact that there is a Negro culture here in America that, we think, almost surpasses our own. White men do not know it, yet it exists and has a beauty and a nobility that would have delighted Pythagoras, himself. In that world of Negro culture we have found poets, artists, music makers and the dreamers of high dreams. René Maran is there, Burghardt DuBois, Tanner, Paul Laurence Dunbar and many another.—Los Angeles (Cal.) *Times*.

* * *

LOGIC IN VIRGINIA

LAST week Robert T. Kerlin, disfrocked professor of the Virginia Military Institute, delivered an infamous lecture in Richmond before a Negro audience in which he boldly advocated Negro equality.

Last night a drunken Negro created a disturbance on a street car passing through the Negro district of Richmond, and when the car conductor remonstrated with him, other Negroes came to the aid of the drunken man, set upon the white conductor and stabbed him to death.

The races in Richmond have always lived together in peace and friendliness and we can not but believe that Kerlin's speech was partly responsible for the Sunday night outrage.—Newport News (Va.) *Herald*.

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Elbert Hubbard, in "A Little Journey to Tuskegee."

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